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REPORT NO. 53**



**MIGRATION, CHANGE IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
AND FERTILITY
(A Study in Pidie, Aceh)**

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Adnan Abdullah
Head, Research Project

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CHAPTER I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

A. Background to the problem

Migration is one of the problems that helps to colour the socio-economic aspects of the community in Acheh. By migrating, some of the members of the community have tried to decrease the many socio-economic differences/dissatisfaction especially due to being surpassed in the field of employment and the limitation to educational opportunities. The centralisation of the population in specific districts has opened opportunities for new jobs and given birth to new centers for the development of knowledge which is the source of change. On a higher level, these changes have led to a new way of life: One which has high material value, a rational outlook and objectives, encourages healthy competition in the arena of progress and which increases the individual's initiative.

An anthropological study on the migration patterns of the Acheh community has been done by Siegel (1969). His study was basically limited to the question of the relationship between the religious way of life and the pattern of thinking of the people in Acheh. The area of research was based in Beureunuen, Pidie. Siegel found two types of migration by the people of Pidie. There was migration to obtain a source of income (jak hareukat) and migration to get education (Jak meudagang). The first type of migration rose, among other things, because of difficulties in finding a source of income in one's own region. Those who have a satisfactory source of income in Pidie seldom migrate. The second type of migration gives the opportunity to a section of the people in Pidie who are familiar with certain standards and pattern of opinion (Siegel 1969: pp 54-57).

In spite of the above study by Siegel, the region is still interesting and merits another study, one to observe the intricate

relation between migration and fertility via the changes in the socio-economic status of the people in Pidie. There are at least three questions that hope to be answered in such a study. Firstly, did migration occur extensively such that it has become an institution in their way of life? If that is true, what effect has it had on fertility. Secondly, what socio-economic transformation was happening, based on comparative and theoretical considerations, which influenced this tendency to migrate? Thirdly, what power was needed so that migration would increase the socio-economic status without deeply disturbing their fertility?

A study of the relationships mentioned above, and finding the answers to the three questions will probably be very useful in formulating any policy on population and socio-economic development in Pidie. This is because fertility is closely related to several endeavours which were carried out to curb the fertility of the women, one of which is aptly known as the Family Planning Program. Although Family Planning on a national basis has been one of the more successful programs of the New Order Government, it is still not yet popular in the village communities of Aceh. A study conducted in two sub-districts, Aceh Besar (as the target village) and Pidie (as the control village) showed that the majority of the respondents do not yet know of it. (Alfian, Budhisantoso and Parsudi, 1977: pp 38-40).

Since 1969 several national organizations were summoned to excite the millions of Indonesian women into wanting to use one of the methods of contraception or one of the contraceptive aids. Funds and energy were simultaneously mobilised. In a period of about eight years, i.e. up to 1976/1977 it was estimated that not less than a million dollars were spent in the planning of births in Indonesia (Reese, Soedarmadi and Haryono Soeyono, 1975: p 115). Yet, in the research mentioned previously the knowledge of the majority of the village community in Aceh is still low where contraceptive aids or methods are concerned. A large proportion of them have not heard of any of the devices or methods.

However, what was learnt from the research does not mean that they completely ignored any effort to widen the age gap between births. Among other things, this can be seen in the birth rate. Based on the results of the previous census (1930-71) it is known that the population growth rate in Acheh is relatively low, about 1.7% per annum. The level of fertility of the Acheh community is 41.6. It can be said that this figure shows a meaningful difference, especially when compared with the fertility rate of the people from Tapanuli Selatan and Nias which is 56.8 and 51.9 respectively. Similarly the level of fertility of the people of Batak Karo and Batak Simalungun, who live in Central Sumatra, is 51.2 and 55.1 respectively (Castles, 1975: pp 191-2).

If the above figures are correct, then another interesting issue to note in this study is why the population growth rate and fertility rate in Acheh is relatively low. Theoretically, population growth is a function of fertility, nuptiality, mortality and migration (Whitby, et al, 1974: p 124). Theoretically too, the fertility of the women is generally affected by several factors such as the marriage pattern, age at first marriage, and the divorce pattern. Another factor which affects the fertility of the women is any illness which she has suffered that might affect her ability to reproduce, as well as any method or device to prevent or abort pregnancy. Other factors include the living conditions in general, educational background, and any government policy in the field of population (Snodgrass and Wallace, 1975: p 79).

This study however does not propose to expand on all the factors mentioned. Studying all the factors which influence fertility would require a field of study covering a wide area of research and which would be far too complex.

B. Methodology

As mentioned previously, this study will be limited to the changes in socio-economic status due to migration and the influence it might have on fertility. The concept of socio-economic status

in this study is limited to three variables which are: level of education, type of occupation and level of income of each respondent. The level of education of the respondent is based on the length of time he has spent on education. Occupation is based on the main occupation of each of the respondent's family, eg. farmer, trader, civil servant, employee, labourer and skilled labourer. Level of income is based on the total family income during the previous year, whether it was from the main occupation or from a secondary occupation. On this basis the respondents were classified into groups.

The concept of fertility used in this study is limited to the knowledge of the number of children that has been born alive by women during their lifetime and during their period of reproduction, and who were married or had been married before. This limitation is based on the belief that only women in the reproductive age of 15-45 years have the potential for childbearing. And the possibility of pregnancy and childbirth is basically found in those who have had sexual relations, whether conjugal or outside of marriage. Since sex outside of marriage is highly disapproved in the Acheh community, the possibility of childbirth is generally only experienced by the married women or by those who were once married. The possibility of actually conceiving and giving birth depends on several other variables which play a role in the three reproductive stages of most women. The three stages are: (a) sexual intercourse, (b) conception and (c) pregnancy and birth. These three stages, along with migration and socio-economic status have a high probability in influencing the variables that play a role in fertility.

During migration, people are more inclined to follow a certain pattern of living which differs from the past, especially if they are successful and lead a better socio-economic life. With a better socio-economic status, the interests and activities of most people blossom. They receive more information on many aspects of life. Generally there are more opportunities for participation open to them because of their new status. To a certain extent, as has been mentioned, the new way of life that is adopted can be the source

of a rational and objective outlook. This new outlook could stimulate individual initiative, promote healthy competition in the field of progress and encourage maintenance of the progress that has been achieved. Under such conditions, there is a general tendency to plan the number of children in the family.

A more concrete picture concerning the relationship between the three variables mentioned will be based on the data obtained from the survey in Pidie. The data was obtained from the guided interviews and observations, and then analysed according to statistical concepts. The guided interviews were implemented by using questionnaires. The interviews were carried out by visiting the respondents at their respective homes. The respondents comprised women 15-45 years of age, who were either married or had been married before. Their answers were noted in the questionnaire list which had been prepared. Observation of their socio-economic status was also noted during the interview. In this way the results of the survey would be more convincing.

The statistical concepts used to analyse the results of the abovementioned field survey are generally limited to the calculation of the percentage, mean and t-test (t). The percentage will make it easier to differentiate the inclinations of respondents according to the categories of certain answers based on the migratory status of each of them. The calculation of the mean is meant to give a picture of the main tendencies according to the results of the survey, of each of the variables that are studied. By using the 't-test' we hope to obtain a statistical analysis concerning the presence or absence of any difference in the average birth rate in the three samples. The t-test is also meant to test whether the variety of the respondents' answers shows a meaningful difference, or if it is superficial because of the fluctuations in sampling, at the 5% level of significance.

The collection of data in the field was performed by a team of five assistant researchers and three supervisors during the month of Ramadhan 1397 (August-September 1977). The fasting month was

chosen to facilitate the fieldwork because it was assumed that during this month most of the people would be in the village, especially when it got closer to the Idulfitri, the feast day to mark the end of the fasting month. Due to the limited number of field personnel, the survey was carried out in two stages. During the first stage, the survey team collected data in the areas chosen as the object of research. In the second stage, the research team collected data from the respondents living in Bandar Aceh, Langsa and Tekengon. The first stage lasted from 10 August-22 September 1977, while the second stage was from 25 September-10 October 1977.

As a rough guideline, this research was completed in ten phases. The first phase was the preparation and design of research. This research design was prepared as early as July 1976 and then proposed as a research project to SEAPRAP, Singapore in August 1976. The second phase was the preparation of the questionnaire. This phase was begun with the ratification of the Program Committee of SEAPRAP. As of April-June 1977 the questionnaire that was prepared dealt with the basic aims that were formulated for this research.

The third phase represented the initial research where data on the background to the problem and a general picture of migration in the villages to be researched was obtained. The aid of the Governor's Office/Head of the Special District of Aceh and the Census Office of the Special District of Aceh was sought.

The fourth phase represented the trial of the survey. The questionnaire that had been formulated was tested to find out if the original plan could be fulfilled: whether the respondents understood the context of the questions. It was also to gauge the duration of each interview.

The fifth phase was the improvement of the interview try-out and represented the follow-through of the trial survey. The language used for the questions was improved, and the number of questions was decreased/increased according to the needs, that is based on the advisors' submission.

The sixth phase involved the discussion concerning procedure of the survey - this covers the procedures that are best used during the time of research in the field.

The seventh phase represents the collection of data. As has been mentioned, this was subdivided into two, i.e. research that is directly conducted in Pidie regency (in 17 villages), and research in Banda Aceh, Langa and Takengon. There are some 97 questions which are put forward to the respondents during the field research. This can be divided into five groups, each concerning the following: identity of the respondents (10 questions), stage of migration (27 questions), state of education (17 questions), employment and income (14 questions) and family livelihood (29 questions).

The eighth phase is that of data tabulation. This is differentiated into two areas. Firstly, the answers of each respondent are tabulated in individual tables according to the different respondent groups (migrating, has experienced migration/has migrated and do not migrate). Secondly, the socio-economic status is tabulated together with the number of children that have been born alive during the lifetime of each respondent. The results of this tabulation will be the base for the final two stages - phase nine and ten.

Phase nine represents the analysis based on the results of the statistical concepts mentioned earlier. Phase ten represents the preparation of the research report. The whole of this research report is divided into five parts, each of which concerns the introduction, background of migration, socio-economic status, level of fertility and conclusion. Each division is further sub-divided, as stated in the table of contents.

C. Source of Data

Due to the lack of time and personnel, this research did not cover all the villages that were found in Pidie regency. It only included certain villages which were considered able to fulfil the aim of this research. The villages chosen represented the research sample, and the procedure to select these samples was as follows:

Firstly, it was based on the consideration of the areas where relatively many of the inhabitants migrate, and three sub-districts were chosen as the centres for the research activity. The sub-districts chosen were Indrajaya (which comprises 50 villages), Simpang Tiga (which encompasses 56 villages) and Delima (which encompasses 59 villages). Secondly, only 10% of the total number of villages in each of these subdistricts were chosen at random. For this sampling, the names of these villages from each of the sub-districts were put in sequence according to the local government of the subdistrict. Consequently, from Indrajaya, the villages chosen were Blang, Sukon, Bale Buroh, Tungkop Cut and Teungoh. Simpang Tiga sub-district was represented by the villages of Pante, Nien Raya Paya, Dayoh Bareh, Padang and Bunueun. Finally, from the subdistrict of Delima, the villages chosen were Raya, Sukun, Sagoe, Karieng, Lhee Meunasah and Keutapang.

Thirdly, based on systematic random selection, half of the female population between 15-45 years of age who were married or had been married before, were chosen as respondents from each of the sample villages. They made up a total of 468 people - 170 of whom had migrated before and 298 of whom had not migrated. Fourth, to obtain a more complete criterion of comparison, the total number of respondents were increased by a number of women, who at the time of research, had migratory status and belonged to one of the three sub-districts chosen. Taking the vast area of migration into consideration, these additional respondents were chosen from only three towns, i.e. Banda Aceh, Langsa and Takengon. The total number that could be contacted was 113 females between 15-45 years of age who were either married or had been married before.

Apart from the migratory status, all the respondents could also be differentiated according to marital status, age, type of education, duration of education, source of employment, income, age at marriage, duration of marriage and number of children that they had given birth to. Based on marital status, they were classified as married women or women who have been married before (widows/divorcees). The majority of them are in the married group, 91.91%.

The rest, 8.09%, are divorcees or widows. Where migration is concerned, the percentage of widows/divorcees seems to be more conspicuous in those who have migrated before, followed by those who did not migrate (Table 1-1).

The second group is based on age. The average age of most of them is around 30.36 years. This average age varies according to the migratory status. Those who have migrated have an average age which is two groups higher than the other respondents. Those who are relatively younger on the average are seen among those who migrate. The percentage of frequency seems more apparent in those between 25-29 years of age and 20-24 years of age. This point is applicable to all respondent groups except for those respondents who have migrated, where the 35-39 age group shows a higher percentage of frequency compared to those in the 20-24 age group. Based on this figure it appears that the tendency to migrate is lower where the age is higher (Table 1-2).

The third group is based on the type of education achieved. There are three such categories here viz., general education, vocational and religious education. The majority, i.e. about 70.01%, have a general education. This applies for all three groups of respondents. The percentage of frequency of those who have no education is striking in those who do not migrate. Those with vocational education are more apparent in the group that migrate. Similarly, this applies to those with religious education. The average period of education revolves around 5.23 years. However, the average duration of education for those who migrate is longer than that of the other two respondent groups, especially when compared to those who do not migrate. This last group of respondents have a duration of education which is below the total average. On the whole, the percentage of frequency of the duration of education seems highest in the interval between class 4-6. However, the frequency of distribution for the respondent groups who migrate is much steeper, whereas in the groups that do not migrate it is rare that they manage to spend 10 years or more at school (Table 1-3).

The next classification concerns the livelihood and per capita income of the family for the previous year. The majority of those who migrate work as traders or civil servants. Those who have experienced migration before generally work as traders and farmers, whereas the majority of those who do not migrate work as farmers and traders. The percentage of frequency of those who work as traders seems high in all three respondent groups (Table 1-5). The uniformity of their source of income is mirrored in their income situation. The average level of income of those who do migrate exceeds that of the other two groups of respondents. The average level of income for those who have migrated before and for those who do not migrate is below the average total (Table 1-6).

This next classification is based on age at the first marriage and the duration of the marriage concerned. Most of them have their first marriage when they are between 15-20 years of age. This accounts for 91.05% with the average age being 17.89 years. However, those who do not migrate marry earlier at the first marriage compared to the other two groups. By contrast, those who do migrate marry at a later age on the average, exceeding the total average age (Table 1-7). The difference in the average age at the first marriage is also shown in the average duration of marriage which also differs. Those who have experienced migration seem to have a longer duration of marriage compared to the other two groups. The total average duration of marriage is 12.05 years. Those who migrate and those who do not migrate have a lower average duration of marriage, i.e. lower than the total average age (Table 1-8).

The last grouping concerns the number of children that have been born alive. During the period of marriage mentioned above, the average number of children born alive is 3.36. The total birth average of those who have migrated before or who have not migrated is above this average total. This means that the birth total of those who migrate is lower than this figure (Table 1-9). This range between the total births moves between 0-12. There is only one person who had as many as 12 births in the non-migrating group.

Table 1-1: Marital Status of respondents based on migratory status
(in percentage)

Marital Status	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Married	98.23	87.65	91.95	91.91
Has been married before	1.77	12.35	8.05	8.09
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 1-2: Age level of respondents, based on migratory status
(in percentage)

Age level	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
15-19	3.54	5.88	6.71	5.85
20-24	25.66	11.76	22.82	20.14
25-29	26.55	27.06	22.15	24.44
30-34	17.70	14.71	16.11	16.01
35-39	18.59	22.94	11.11	19.10
40-45	7.96	17.65	15.10	14.46
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	29.34	31.59	30.05	30.36
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 1-3: Type of education of respondents, based on migratory status (in percentage).

Type of Education	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
General Education	63.72	79.41	74.83	74.01
Vocational Education	19.47	7.65	7.05	9.64
Religious Education	16.81	10.59	6.04	9.47
No Schooling	0.00	2.35	12.08	6.88
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
No. of Respondents	113	170	298	581

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Table 1-4: Duration of education of the respondents based on migratory status (in percentage)

Duration of Education	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Did not attend school	0.00	2.35	12.08	6.88
1-3	10.62	7.65	18.12	13.60
4-6	34.51	64.12	59.40	55.94
7-9	29.20	18.24	10.40	16.35
10-12	15.04	7.65	0.00	5.16
13-15	10.63	0.00	0.00	2.07
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	7.42	5.66	4.16	5.23
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 1-5: Respondents' source of livelihood based on migratory status (in percentage)

Source of livelihood	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Farming	1.77	27.06	36.24	26.85
Business/trading	42.48	40.00	32.21	36.49
Civil servant	30.97	9.41	8.72	13.25
Employee (private firms)	6.19	4.71	3.02	4.13
Labourer	9.73	7.06	12.41	10.33
Skilled worker	5.31	10.59	6.04	7.23
Unemployed	3.54	1.18	1.34	1.72
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total number of respondents	113	170	298	581
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Table 1-6: Level of income of respondent's family based on migratory status (in percentage)

Annual income	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
No income	2.54	1.18	1.34	1.72
Below Rp 120,000,-	0.00	10.00	10.40	8.26
Rp 120,000 - Rp 239,999	9.73	22.35	36.58	27.19
Rp 240,000 - Rp 359,999	14.16	28.24	20.13	21.34
Rp 360,000 - Rp 479,999	13.27	11.76	7.72	9.98
Rp 480,000 - Rp 599,999	19.47	7.65	8.39	10.33
Rp 600,000 - & above	39.82	18.82	15.44	21.17
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Mean of migrating group Rp.460,353.98

Mean of group who have migrated before Rp.345,882.35

Mean of non-migrating group Rp.312,080.53

Mean of all respondents Rp.355,352.83

Table 1-7: Age of respondent at first marriage based on
migratory status (in percentage)

Age at marriage	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
15-17 years	32.75	51.76	53.35	48.88
18-20 years	50.44	38.24	41.28	42.17
21-23 years	9.73	3.53	3.02	4.48
24-26 years	7.08	6.47	2.35	4.48
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	18.66	17.88	17.61	17.89
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 1-8: Duration of marriage of the respondents based on migratory status (in percentage)

Duration of marriage	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Less than 5 years	20.35	14.12	22.48	19.62
5-9 years	23.89	18.24	25.17	22.89
10-14 years	29.20	22.94	17.79	21.51
15-19 years	14.16	19.41	17.45	17.38
20-24 years	8.85	12.35	13.09	12.05
25-29 years	3.55	12.94	4.02	6.54
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	11.00	13.89	11.39	12.05
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 1-9: Number of children that were born alive by each respondent based on migratory status (in percentage)

Number of children	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
None	10.62	11.18	12.42	11.70
1-2	38.94	28.82	30.87	31.84
3-4	27.43	26.47	26.84	26.85
5-6	17.70	21.76	12.42	16.18
7-8	5.31	7.06	14.43	10.50
9-10	0.00	4.71	1.68	2.24
11-12	0.00	0.00	1.34	0.69
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	2.87	3.62	3.40	3.36
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION

A. Area of Research

Pidie, where this research was conducted, is a regency in the Wilayah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh (Special District of Aceh Province). It is situated both to the left and right of the Banda Aceh-Medan highway, the main lines of communication with the other areas are to the west and east of this trunk road, along the 77-173 km markings. A large area of this regency is a flat plain which lines the coast of the Indonesian Straits and extends far inwards to represent the ricefields and is heavily populated. The northern area, which also lines the coast, represents the swampy district which is overgrown with several types of plants such as pandan (the basic material used in the construction of mats), and nipah (basic leafy construction material for the roofs of houses). A large part of the marshland represents the dam or fishpond where the coastal inhabitants rear brackish water fish such as bandang, prawns and blanak. The west and southern areas of this regency seem to be fenced in by the highlands of Gunung Seulawah and the hilly range of Bt. Barisan which run through the island of Sumatera.

From the point of view of government administration, this regency includes 23 subdistricts, 124 districts and 951 villages. The main centre of government administration is found in Sigli, the capital of the regency. Apart from being the centre of administration Sigli is also the centre of educational activities and economic activities for the whole of Pidie regency. Several educational institutions are located in this capital - elementary schools to high schools both in the form of schools or religious boarding schools. Lately however, a large proportion of secondary educational institutions have been located at the educational town of Tijue, approximately 2 kms to the south of Sigli. However, in many of the regency's main towns there are secondary schools which offer a

general education. The elementary institutions of learning are found in most of the districts whether they have the status of national schools, inpres* or religious schools.

The growth of educational institutions in this area seems to have been greatest during the early 1950's, especially when compared to the other regencies of Aceh. At that time Sigli had already commenced with the SMP - Sekolah Menengah Umum (Junior High School); SMEP - Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi (High School of Economics); SKP - Sekolah Kependidikan Putri (Girls' School for Home Economics); SGB - Sekolah Guru Bantu (Assistant Teachers' School) and SMI - Sekolah Menengah Islam (Islamic Secondary School). There was one of each of these schools and they were of national status, except for the SMI which was subsidised. The higher schools began to flourish towards the end of the 1950's. These included the SMA - Sekolah Menengah Umum Tingkat Atas (Senior High School); SMEA - Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Tingkat Atas (Senior High School of Economics); and PGA - Pendidikan Guru Agama (Religious Teaching College). However, it could be said that during the last decade the progress in the number and types of educational institutions did not experience many changes except for the SPC - Sekolah Pendidikan Guru (Teachers' Training College), a private school which was set up two years ago.

As a centre of economic activity, Sigli cannot be considered as fully operational especially when compared to the other towns of Aceh regency. This is due, among other things, to the limited amount of natural produce that is channelled through this town. It is also due to the rise of Beureuneun as the centre of collection of the natural produce of the eastern and southern districts of this regency. In this town there are several rows of shops which line the narrow streets. It represents the commercial area for daily needs such as textiles, peddlars and foodshops. On the eastern side is found the market place and bus terminal for buses that come from the west and east. The primary source of transport that connects the town to the other areas are the buses and trucks. During the Dutch era, Sigli had a railway connection to other areas of Aceh.

* inpres = schools formed according to presidential decree.

However, today it has fallen out of use and does not function anymore. The surrounding area of the town is marshland where the people are able to rear brackwater fish except for the western area which covers ricefields and villages.

The 1971 census shows that this regency is inhabited by approximately 293,351 people, of which 142,063 are males and 150,748 are females. The majority of them are original inhabitants and known as Pidie people. The immigrants are generally from the Minangkabau, Chinese and Javanese ethnic groups. Most of them live in the capital towns of the regency and are employed as civil servants (Minangkabau and Javanese) and traders (Chinese). The majority of them (ie. more than 67.32% of the original inhabitants) have their own source of income in the field of farming - farmers, fishermen and farm labourers. Some also work as traders, as entrepreneurs in the handicrafts, in the service field and in the community as well as in transport.

The farming in Pidie has always been accustomed to a good and functional system of irrigation (Piekgar, 1977: pp 3-4). This system of irrigation makes use of channels to transport the water to distant areas. They call it the umong ie peuneu'ek (fields that are watered).

A study conducted in one of the districts in Pidie in 1973 (Amin Aziz, 1973: pp 101-2) shows that a family owns an average of 0.40 hectare of ricefields. Meanwhile, 53% of the respondents disclaim ownership of any riceland. Most of the ricelands which they work on belong to the traders and government officers who live in Banda Aceh, Medan and Jakarta. Three centuries earlier, the farmer in Aceh was described in the words of an Englishman: "They use oxen to plough their land however they are unskilled and tend to be lazy." (Castles and Alfian, 1975: p 1). Their main preoccupation seems to be relaxing in the coffee huts, meunasah* or

* meunasah = training centre for religious studies.

the food-stalls that line the road. This habit of theirs is seen by some observers as a hindrance to their future progress (Castles and Alfian, 1975: p 9).

The economic opportunities open to the inhabitants of the regency in this area can be considered to be limited to rice farming and fish rearing. Plantations are rare except for the coffee plantations in the subdistrict of Tangse which are cultivated by the local community. The main crop of this regency is padi (rice) and in this respect Pidie is considered as a rice-surplus area. At almost every district there is a huller for processing the rice. Every harvest time the land owning farmers normally leave their crop with the huller factories and wait for the best price before selling their produce. During this period of waiting the owners of the hullers use the opportunity to process the padi into rice to be sold later to the traders. This seems the ideal arrangement for the hullers to operate their enterprise since they do not need to invest much capital.

The lack of employment opportunities in farming, the relatively small area of arable land for each farmer, and the price level of the padi which is normally considered unprofitable to the farmer, poses many problems of employment. Some inhabitants are forced to seek employment in other areas such as trading, handicrafts, skilled and unskilled labour. Others are forced to seek employment in other districts (migrate), whether it is temporary migration or permanent migration. Of those who are in business - some have permanent stores while others are itinerant peddlars or muge (intermediary traders).

The work of the muge covers all types of farming produce and daily needs. Their activities take them right into the corners of the isolated villages. Some of them buy and sell their wares at the daily market (uroe gante) which rotates among several towns of the subdistricts. For example, on Sundays they will be at Bandar Baru; Mondays at Muara Tiga, Sakti and Trienggadeng; Tuesdays at Pajang Tiji and Bandar Dua; Wednesdays at Keumala and Glumpang Minyeuk; Thursdays at Keumbang Tanjong, Tiro and Trusep; Fridays at Batee and Tangse; Saturdays at Mutiara.

The relationship between buyer and seller in the village areas is normally a credit system based on trust. What this means is that the buyer pays for the article that he has purchased after a relatively long period has passed or he pays for it on credit over a certain period. This system also applies to the muge; they pay the farmer only after the articles they bought have been sold and they have received the money. On the other hand, in some places there is a commercial relationship based on the ijon system. What this means is that the future farm produce is sold while it is still being grown, ie. long before the final result is seen.

There are at least two conditions that lead to the credit system of buying and selling. One, the proximity of residential areas such that the people know each other well enough to consider whether they can trust each other. Two, the limited flow of currency in the villages where it can be said that money is a rare commodity. Where they do receive cash it normally returns to the town for the purchase of adornments. In the villages, savings normally take the form of adornments and land (garden or ricefields), and also represent the measure for socio-economic status. Where they have to spend money on any ceremony such as wedding or death, they will tend to sell or pawn the jewellery or land that they own. A large part of their income is used to satisfy consumer desires such that the higher their level of income the wider the variety of goods they consume.

Those who migrate generally work as small scale traders, farmers, fishermen and labourers. At present the many who work as traders are found in the several towns of the regency and subdistricts of Aceh. Those who work as farmers are normally found in the regencies of Central Aceh, West Aceh and East Aceh. The majority of those who work as fishermen are found in the coastal villages of East Aceh, such as Telaga Tujoh, Bugak and Bayeuen. Those who work as farm labourers are normally seasonal migrants. During certain seasons they move to North Aceh to harvest padi or to Aceh Besar to pick cloves or to Central Aceh to pick coffee beans or even to East Aceh to become aneuk pukot (fishermen labourers). There are also those

who work in food/coffee shops which are normally set up by the people of Pidie.

Trading seems to be the most attractive form of occupation for those who migrate, this being reflected in what their expression: Tameukat pruet troe peukayan gleh, which means that trading gives them a full stomach and clean clothes. Risks involved in trading do not always represent a loss. If an article cannot be sold it can be used for one's personal needs. If a buyer does not keep his promise to repay the loan, the trader too can use the same excuse with his creditor. Their way of thinking seems very simplistic because even if they are forced to face the risks, they are able to leave the area of migration immediately and return to their original village.

B. People of Pidie - a picture of migration

Migration literally means a movement of people from one country to another in search of a livelihood. They either walk, sail or roam the coast or plain enclosed by two rivers. In Aceh, this was the system used in the old days when the people of Aceh Besar went to the coastal areas of West Aceh to plant pepper. At that time they discovered the western and eastern reaches, i.e. the western and eastern shorelines/beaches of East Aceh. Both coastal areas were at that time foreign places to these people from Aceh Besar. The natural vegetation was still one of marshland and swamps, located far away from the residential districts of the local inhabitants. For this reason, those who lived in the coastal areas during that time suffered various diseases which were due both to alienation and the fight against the marshland.

Teungku Bambi, a writer of tales of Aceh, relates some of the suffering of the coastal inhabitants in his poetical work "Hikayat Ranto" (Snouck, 1906: pp 101-1). According to his accounts there was never a person among those who went to plant pepper in the coastal areas who could return without suffering - be it emotional or physical, i.e. with a sound mind and body. Many lost their zest for living and malaria was rampant among them. Their moral condition while at

the coastal areas also deteriorated because none of them could take their families along with them. Gambling, opium and liquor became the main source of recreation during their spare time. When they ran out of money for the opium and liquor they committed murders and robbed anyone who happened to pass in the area. Disputes among themselves more often than not resulted in bloodshed. Religion was ignored.

The condition of the wives and children who were left behind by these men who migrated was not much better. They were left without any news of their spouses/fathers for years on end. They were only left with expectations of the appearance of their loved ones, especially during the celebrations to mark the end of the fasting month (Ramadan). During such times they could only contend with the happiness of their neighbours whose families were complete.

Today however, such a picture of migration no longer exists. Migration has undergone drastic changes. Since the beginning of the 20th century, i.e. during the reign of the Hindu-Dutch government in Aceh, communication with the coastal areas has improved greatly. In 1919 a railway line was constructed from Banda Aceh to Medan. After several years, a road with the same route was also constructed. Ports were also constructed in several of the regency towns such as Ulee Lheue (Aceh Besar), Sigli (Pidie), Lhok Seumawe (North Aceh), Kuala Langsa and Kuala Simpang (East Aceh). Several plantations were also developed in the Aceh area, including the rubber and palm oil plantations in East Aceh. Apart from this, the economy of Aceh no longer depended solely on farm produce but was supplemented by mineral resources such as oil from Central Aceh and gold from West Aceh.

Similarly, there was progress in the commercial activities. A number of foreign traders such as the Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Minangkabaus and Bataks were attracted to Aceh. The aristocrats began sending their children to the educational institutions provided by the Hindu-Dutch Government, such as those in Kataraja, Bukittinggi, Bandung and Serang. In the year 1907, Governor Van Daalen,

who was then administrator of the Aceh area, advocated the setting up of village schools (Ibrahim Alfian, n.d. p 122).

Such changes therefore opened up the coastal areas, and made many places habitable and no longer the lonely and isolated spots they once were. Many inhabitants in the area went to seek employment in the plantations of the Dutch people. All these changes led to greater migration. Coastal areas no longer meant isolated swamps and migration also included urban areas in other regions. Migration was not limited to the poor villagers, but was open to the traders as well as the children of the aristocratic class. The aim of migration was no longer limited to the seeking of employment but was also for educational reasons and for attaining a higher socio-economic status.

Towards the end of the Hindu-Dutch Government era, there arose among the people of Pidie a group of traders and intellectuals. Their role seemed to be obvious when Indonesia gained her independence. The running of the government in Aceh at that period was generally in their hands. This gave them more opportunities, especially in obtaining certain permits and facilities for the emergence of a young group of traders from their circle. Similarly, educational opportunities were available to them. In the years that followed, right up to the present day, their inclination to migrate seemed to increase, especially due to the employment opportunities and the type of education which appeared relatively more progressive in the areas outside of the Pidie regency.

C. Family Relationships and Migration

In Pidie society, living separately from one's family environment begins once the child reaches adolescence, i.e. about 7-11 years of age. During this period of development the children are given religious lessons (taught to read the Koran). The religious education normally takes place outside of the home environment: in the meunasah^{*} for the boys and for the girls, at the home of the teungku inong (religious teacher). The classes are

* meunasah = religious training centre for advanced Muslim students.

normally held at night. After the lessons the children do not return home but stay overnight at the place of study, only returning to their homes the next morning. When this period of religious education has terminated, the daughters return to live with the parents at night, the sons however, continue to sleep at the meunasah. This habit of staying overnight at the meunasah continues right up to the time when they get married, unless they happen to migrate prior to such time.

The socialization process of adolescent males generally occurs outside of the home environment. For daughters, the socialization process is normally received from the mother or from people who visit the household, unless they are given the opportunity of education at one of the educational institutions or religious schools. Family relationships in the household, both for sons and daughters, shows a relatively closer link with the mother. The majority of the male community - husbands, fathers or brothers - normally linger in the coffee shops, in the meunasah, or in the food shops that line the village roads. This habit of lingering with friends to occupy the leisure hours seems extremely difficult to separate from the habitual activities of the men of Pidie. In the coffee shops they discuss issues pertaining to their village community. They receive and entertain their guests in the coffee shops except for those who are specially invited to their homes. They also use the coffee shops to rest (relieve fatigue) after work, to discuss business deals such as the purchase or sale of farm produce, and these coffee shops are also the locations where they save or take out loans. They only return to their homes when there is something to be done there (Siegel, 1969: pp 152-3).

In the households, the women seem to have a bigger role than the men and are more occupied compared to the men. The houses they live in are generally presented by the parents of the wife and in such cases she is the owner of the house or holds that status. Family relationships with female relatives are generally closer, although from the legal point of view the male has a more dominant

role. This is due, among other things, to their status as wali.^{*} This position of wali carries the rights and responsibilities towards the family that are being entrusted to their care, especially if the husband should die and not leave a male heir. The rights that are exercised by the wali are reflected in the division of the inheritance. The responsibility of the wali covers, among other things, the benevolence of the family in his care, especially if they are not well-off.

In previous sections, it was mentioned that limited employment opportunities are one of the factors that push some of the men of Pidie into migration. The family relationship in the households which do not seem to be very intimate, as well as the rights and responsibilities mentioned above, could also be other factors that lead to migration. However, during the last few decades the tendency to migrate is seen not only amongst the males but has also spread to the female community. The following will give some insight into the results of the survey to understand the background of migration of the respondents and their husbands who have migrated before or who are presently migrating.

The majority of the respondents migrate for the first time when they are below 20 years of age. Among those who migrate there are housewives and others who are under their parents' responsibility. Among those who are married while migrating there are some who already have children. Those who do not have children generally began their migration before a year of marriage had lapsed. There are also some who marry while both are migrating. Those who are the responsibility of their parents migrate, while others follow their brother/sister (especially the sisters) who have migrated first.

Other factors are seen in the migration of the husbands of the respondents. A large proportion of them migrate before they are married. On the average they have migrated for as long as 12-38 years. The highest frequency in the duration of migration is seen in those who

* wali = guardians, religious leaders, or proxy.

migrate as a whole family. The migration pattern of this group can be seen as more settled and generally they own the homes they occupy. More than 39% of them at this moment have migrant status. Those who migrate without their families, return to visit their families at an average of more than three times. The husbands who migrate with their families did not return to visit during the previous year. Each time they return they stay an average of one-two weeks in their village. This differs from the female respondents. The majority of them have returned to the villages at least once during the previous year on the pretext of visiting their parents and relatives.

During the period of migration most of the female respondents live with their husbands or their parents. Others live with close relatives. This trend to live with parents or close relatives is common among migrating families. The women who live with close relatives are normally those who migrate without their husbands or parents, and generally they migrate to seek further education. This differs from the male community, who seem to prefer staying with their friends in rented premises. There are many individuals, who in general are still students, who get together to rent or lease a house for a certain period of time and stay together. Those employed, for example, in the firms that sell natural produce or textiles or in the food shops, are generally given accommodation at their place of work. Those who study in the pesantren* stay in the lodgings provided.

There is a high frequency among the female respondents who are at present migrants who desire to return to the villages to live there. This desire is normally seen in those who have migrated for less than 10 years, and who do not own homes. Those who have migrated and returned to reside in the villages generally do so because the parents or husbands have been transferred or because they have completed their period of education.

The majority of those who migrate or who have experienced migration are of the opinion that migrating as a whole family is

* pesantren = religious training center for advanced Islamic studies.

preferable. This is due, among other things, to a closer family unit and the relative cheapness of the cost of living. The main benefit of migration which is immediately felt by the respondents who still migrate is the increase in knowledge. This however, differs from those who have migrated before who feel that the most beneficial impact of migration is the increased socialization opportunities. Seen from the angle of employment opportunities, the majority of those who migrate or who have migrated before are of the opinion that the employment obtained is more satisfying. The satisfaction obtained from the job or position is based, among other things, on the level of income they receive. This is reflected in the answers given to the following question which was broached to seek the benefits of migration in relation to their income situation. More than 65% of the female respondents who migrate or have experienced migration are of the opinion that the income they receive during migration is higher compared to that they receive in their area of origin.

Several of the facts that are mentioned above will consistently reappear in the tables that follow. The tables will illustrate the trend of their responses on the several queries on migration that are asked. The frequency of all their answers is expressed in percentages to facilitate any comparison between alternatives/choices of responses that are available with the alternative/choices of their other responses.

Table 2-1: Respondent's age when she first migrated based on migratory status (in percentage)

Age level	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Below 15 years	24.78	39.41	0.00	16.35
15-19 years	39.82	36.47	0.00	18.42
20-24 years	17.07	13.53	0.00	7.40
25-29 years	10.62	5.29	0.00	3.61
Did not migrate	7.08	5.30	0.00	2.93
	0.00	0.00	100.00	51.29
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 2-2: When the husband migrated based on migratory status
of the respondent (in percentage)

Moment of migration	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Before marriage	73.45	74.12	51.68	62.48
Less than a year after marriage	8.85	2.94	2.35	3.79
More than a year after marriage	15.93	7.65	1.68	6.20
Did not migrate/divorced	1.77	15.29	44.29	27.53
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 2-3: Husband's period of migration based on migratory status of the respondent (in percentage)

Period of migration	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Less than 5 years	7.96	3.53	4.03	4.65
5-9 years	27.43	5.29	4.70	9.29
10-14 years	18.58	10.59	4.03	8.78
15-19 years	14.16	8.82	2.35	6.54
More than 20 years	30.10	5.29	5.37	10.15
No longer migrate/ Do not migrate/divorced	1.77	66.48	79.52	60.59
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 2-4: Where the respondents stay during migration based on migratory status (in percentage)

Place or residence	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
With parents/husband	82.30	85.29	0.00	40.96
With friends in a hostel/ rented house	3.54	1.76	0.00	1.20
With relatives	14.16	10.00	0.00	5.68
Somewhere else	0.00	2.95	0.00	0.86
Do not migrate	0.00	0.00	100.00	51.30
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 2-5: Opinion of respondent on migration with the family,
based on migratory status (in percentage)

Opinion	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Good because the close family ties are kept	84.07	36.47	0.00	27.02
Whether or not they migrate with family makes no difference	10.62	7.65	0.00	4.30
Disadvantageous because it requires more expenses	5.31	14.71	0.00	5.34
Do not know	0.00	41.17	0.00	12.05
Do not migrate	0.00	0.00	100.00	51.29
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 2-6: Opinion of respondents on the benefits of migration in the development of education, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Benefits of Migration	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Knowledge increases	74.35	21.76	0.00	20.83
Working skill increases	8.85	10.59	0.00	4.82
More opportunities in social association	16.81	50.00	0.00	17.90
Other benefits	0.00	17.65	0.00	5.16
Do not migrate	0.00	0.00	100.00	51.29
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 2-7: Opinion of respondents on the benefits of migration in employment opportunities, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Benefits of Migration	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Work more satisfying	73.45	28.24	0.00	22.55
Production of work is raised	17.70	13.53	0.00	7.40
Employment status is raised	3.54	15.88	0.00	5.34
Other benefits	5.31	42.35	0.00	13.43
Do not migrate	0.00	0.00	100.00	51.28
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 2-8: Opinion of respondents on the benefits of migration in the development of income, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Benefits of Migration	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Increasing raise in income	89.39	49.41	0.00	31.84
Income situation before and after migration the same	6.19	13.53	0.00	5.16
Situation has become increasingly worse	1.77	9.41	0.00	3.10
Do not migrate	2.65	27.65	0.00	8.61
	0.00	0.00	100.00	51.29
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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CHAPTER III

MIGRATION AND CHANGE IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

A. Migration and Educational Development

Education is one of the social institutions whose aim is to fulfil the human needs on experience and knowledge and hence provide the dynamism, the elements for self-development. The educational process is normally that which is termed as the process of learning and its results. Learning encompasses experience, observation and the satisfaction of one's needs in the different situations that arise. The continuation of this process of learning is affected, among other things, by one's physical, mental, emotional and social state and ethics. This process can be strengthened or weakened by the types of relationship that occurs between the members of a community and groups that are from different environments.

The transfer of population due to migration, for example, is an effective method of relationship in verifying a change in the cultural value system and social etiquette of the members of the migrating community. Those who migrate will normally be introduced to new social norms and develop a new way of thinking, and act differently. For those who return to their original village, they will tend to compare what is present to what they have experienced in the area of migration. Their influence will be more extensive and stronger should they return with a higher socio-economic status that they have reaped as a result of migration. This is easily understood especially if they have a high socio-economic status and are involved in the setting up of a new social group that will bring about more and better changes in the community. The other members of the community, who form the majority, will normally support such activities.

Since this research hopes to study the influence that may arise from one's socio-economic status due to migration, we therefore present

here the educational situation of the respondents. What is interesting is the type of education they desire; the obstacles that they meet in the accomplishment of this desire; training programs that they might have undergone, and the direct benefits they felt from such programs. Apart from this, it is also interesting to know of the skills and type of education possessed by the husbands and whether the husbands still continue their education after their marriage. Finally, it is also of interest to learn where they obtained the different types of education and skills - whether it is obtained from their area or origin or during the period of migration.

According to their identity and based on what has been covered in the other sections, the difference in the period of education that they have experienced can be assessed on an average. In the three groups of respondents, the period of education that is experienced by those who migrate is strikingly higher compared to the other two respondent groups. Similarly, the average period of education of those who have migrated is higher than those who do not migrate. On the one hand, this could be taken as a consideration that there are more opportunities for education for those who migrate or who have migrated than there are for those who do not migrate. On the other hand, the average period of education of these three groups also reflects one of the characteristics of the development of educational institutions in the Acheh region in general. Many of the types and levels of education that are available in the Acheh region, especially that for the education of women are normally centered in the towns of the provinces.

When observed as a whole, the majority of them received their education in their area of origin. However, 42.48% of those who migrate have also experienced education in other areas. This percentage is much higher when compared to the percentage of those who have experienced migration, i.e. 30.59%. The average period of education that they experience while migrating is 3.34 years for those who migrate and 1.43 years for those who have experienced

migration. The termination period for the education of these three respondent groups also seems to differ. The educational period for those who migrate end at the average of 14.58 years. The average period for those who have migrated before is 14.54 years and for those who do not migrate, 11.43 years.

In the educational system of Indonesia, the period of education mentioned above actually also shows the scale and level of education that is achieved by the respondents. The basis of the educational system comprises four stages of education - elementary school (6 years), junior high school (3 years), senior high school (3 years) and university, which is further divided into two levels i.e. sarjana muda level (1st degree) which lasts 3 years and the sarjana level (Masters degree) which lasts two years.

Elementary education is available in two different forms - the normal elementary school and madrasah ibtidaiyah (religious school). In the elementary schools the educational material emphasised is that of general knowledge, whereas in the madrasah ibtidaiyah knowledge of religion is stressed. During the secondary educational period (both junior and senior high schools) streaming begins with an emphasis on economy, on technical education, on home economics, on teaching, on farming or an animal husbandry. This streaming into different fields of education is especially applicable during tertiary education, which is conducted in the universities, institutions and also in colleges.

Based on different phases of the educational system mentioned above, elementary education lasts 1-6 years. It takes 7-9 years to attain a junior high school education, 13-15 years for the Sarjana Muda and a period of 16-17 years to achieve the Sarjana degree. If this estimate is applied to the average period of education that is experienced by the different respondent groups, it would appear that the average level of education of those who migrate is the second year of junior high school. Those who have experienced migration have on the average completed the sixth year of elementary school. Those who do not migrate complete, on the average, the fifth year of elementary school.

When the respondents are asked about their satisfaction in relation to the type and level of education that they have obtained, most of them claim that they are not satisfied. This dissatisfaction is felt by all of them - whether they migrate or have experienced migration or do not migrate. Those who are dissatisfied had generally hoped to have senior secondary school education and where possible even tertiary education. The fact is that 73% of the respondents are unable to realise it. The obstacle, according to them, is their inability to afford the fees. The other reason is because of marriage. Not being able to afford the costs involved is the main reason faced by those who have experienced migration and by those who do not migrate. Those who migrate give marriage as their main reason.

To overcome this feeling of dissatisfaction with the education they have achieved, some of them make an effort to acquire skills through courses or certain training programs. This effort in acquiring skills is especially visible in those who migrate. The type of skill that seems to attract a proportion of them is in the field of sewing (costume). They are also interested in culinary skills, which is understandable since migration introduces different types of food to the different communal groups. Such skills have to be specially studied, and those who have acquired these skills are generally of the opinion that what they have learned has beneficial results on the daily life of the family.

An immigrant's identity is also seen from the level of education that is achieved by the husbands of the different respondent groups. The majority of respondents who migrate are married to men who have senior high school or tertiary education. The majority of the husbands who have experienced migration or who do not migrate have only an elementary education or junior high school background. More than 29% of the respondents who migrate say that their husbands are still continuing with their education in spite of marriage. A high percentage of the husbands who migrate receive their period of education during migration. This differs from those who do not migrate or who have experienced migration where the husbands normally completed their period of education in their village. This difference can be perceived

from two angles. First, the husbands who are educated while migrating are sometimes already acquainted with their wife-to-be since both of them were migrating at the same time. Second, the husband is used to the migratory life since he began schooling, and at the time this research was conducted, he was generally employed as a civil servant who preferred to live as a migrant with the family.

Employment as traders or employees is often regarded, especially by all the respondents, as a position that does not require a special skill. Business is a question of inheritance and practice. Those who come from families in the trading business and who are used to the occupation normally have no difficulties in becoming traders themselves. Similarly this theory applies to being an employee. Those who have a certain educational background or certificate will find it easier to seek employment. Skill is needed, in their opinion, in jobs such as those held by mechanics and skilled labourers (tailors, seamstresses). Therefore, when they were asked about the skill that their husbands possessed, most of them replied in the negative. If this measure is to be accepted, another conclusion can perhaps be drawn, i.e. the percentage of husbands who work as mechanics or skilled labourers is higher among those who have migrated before or who do not migrate compared to those who do migrate.

B. Migration and Source of Livelihood

Employment can be described as one of the basic needs for the development of an individual. This can be seen, among other things, by the desire to work in certain fields of employment. This desire sometimes arises from the motivation to be more successful, to achieve a better social status, to fulfil an ambition or even to occupy one's leisure hours. What is realistic is a combination of these desires. Hence it is not unusual to see someone put heart and soul into the field of employment that is best suited to his desires. On the other hand, a person will always feel restless if the type of post he occupies does not complement what he desires.

Where the first motivation is concerned, i.e. the desire to be materially more successful, several other factors are also involved such as the type of employment held, talent and skill in relation to work as well as the activities that are involved in the work. Therefore, should someone wish to be a great success he should be able to give maximum attention to the three factors mentioned. Where this is concerned, the tendency seems to be for the person to choose the type of employment he considers best for himself. This is probably because there are several types of employment available in society. The types and total number of employment available varies in different communities. However, it is not impossible to group them as a general rule. The normal groups of employment that are common, among others, are: farming; animal husbandry; fishing; skilled labour; manual labour; business and trade; being an employee - whether in private practice or in the government institutions; and others.

As there are several types of livelihood available as mentioned, there is differentiation in the employment field of the population concerned. The result of this differentiation is the creation of specialization and division of labour which represents the characteristic features of advanced societies (Buchanan and Ellis, 1961: p 99). This means that each individual only performs a special task of a piece of work and the workers are chosen according to their talent, interest and skill. Experience and education normally helps to enrich the development of one's talent, interest and skill.

This research can be expended even further by the fact that this differentiation in the employment field usually gives rise to the different values or attitudes of the different individuals towards certain means of livelihood. Some regard certain occupations as inferior and others as superior. In pre-modern society, those who were involved in the economic field and who were constantly dealing in money matters were not accorded a high position or social status. In the modern world, however, such people are the ones who are in control of the economic lifeline that has become the backbone of society (Lie Tek-tjeng, 1975: pp 4-5). This outlook, in its limited state,

can also be easily seen among the Acheh people in general. In the past a farmer was highly regarded, as expressed in their saying: Pangulee hareukat meugoe (the best work is in farming) or kaya meuh han meusampe kaya pada meusamporeuna (wealth from gold is lacking, wealth from padi is complete).

This outlook however, does not seem typical of the Pidie people, especially not those who are migrating. As already mentioned, the majority of them are interested in business. This easily gives rise to stereotyping the migrants by the local inhabitants. In the past an unfavourable attitude was adopted towards the immigrants. In daily communication they would be mocked with such words as Pidie bu ie dikira (Calculating Pidie rice and water). Such scorn arose, among other things, because many of them operated food shops/coffee shops while migrating. Today, actually since the beginning of the past decade, when it was seen that they succeeded as prominent businessmen or held important government positions, the former stereotypes that were cast on them slowly disintegrated and there developed a healthy source of competition in their social interaction.

Still on the subject of the old outlook and attitude, it is interesting to study, through this research, the most important sources of income for the respondents and their participation in the productive activities, as well as the feeling of satisfaction towards the sources of employment that are available and the factors that could lead to dissatisfaction towards these sources of employment. Another issue is the relationship between migration and the husband's occupational situation, especially if the job before migrating, during migration and after migration is being compared.

Their identity, as has been mentioned, is based on the high frequency of the main sources of livelihood they are involved in - business, farming, civil servant, labourer, skilled labourer and employee in private firms. Many respondents, especially those who do not migrate or who have migrated before, work to supplement their family income. The majority of husbands, about 74%, do not have supplementary employment although most of the respondents are of the opinion that the main occupation presently held by the husbands is

not satisfying. This feeling of discontentment is expressed especially among those who do not migrate and those who have migrated before, whereas those who migrate as a family generally seem satisfied with their jobs.

When those who were dissatisfied were asked about the kind of employment that they consider as more satisfying, the non-migrants gave business as their answer. Those who migrated before generally did not have a precise answer. This negative view is due, among others, to their inability to realise their ambitions where employment is concerned, even when they migrated. From the alternative answers of the majority of them, working as farmers, employees, labourers is not the suitable alternative to the present occupation that they consider as dissatisfying. This is caused by the lack of education and certain conditions such as diplomas and skill which are required and which they seldom possess.

The average period of employment is 12.29 years for those who do migrate, 8.49 years for those who have migrated and 9.75 years for those who do not migrate. Prior to migration the majority of them have not worked. Among those who did work prior to migrating, the majority were farmers. The majority of the husbands of those who migrated are in business and very few of them expressed dissatisfaction with the work they did during migration. The same answer also applies to the other two groups of respondents - the difference being that for these two groups the state of satisfaction is the same whether the husband migrated or works in the region. This answer is generally given by the respondents whose husbands are migrant farmers.

C. Migration and Income

Another indication of one's socio-economic status in society is one's level of income. This indication enables the measure of material progress that has been achieved in the various fields of economic activity. Seen from the economic angle, an individual's basic income is determined by the total number and quality of services he is able to produce. This capability to produce or serve is generally determined by one's skill, capital, natural resources and technology - in other words, the formula $O = f(L, K, R, T)$.

According to the Pidie people, an individual's success in achieving a high socio-economic status is basically ascertained by five factors. The first factor is useuha (endeavour/effort). According to them, a person who performs good deeds will be blessed with good deeds. The second factor is gigeh (determination in one's endeavours). They illustrate this factor with the genius of Ali bin Abi Thalib who was unyielding in his lifelong search for knowledge. The third factor is pikiran (intelligence of skill in one's endeavours). According to them, wealth or fortune is easily available to those who are clever and highly skilled. The fourth factor is himat (thrift/sense of economy) and this appears to be a precondition to wealth. The final factor is tuah/bagi (luck/profit). The success of an individual's endeavours according to them, is determined by the luck/fortune of the individual because it is the fate of God.

What we have just seen enables one to conclude that the economic basis of the inhabitants of Pidie is rice farming and fishing. They still use mediocre production methods and have a low level of skill. The distribution of income of the inhabitants shows a cross-eyed positive distribution. What this means is that the majority of them have incomes that are below the average level. This is clarified in Tables 1-6 which also show the difference in income distribution among those who migrate, have migrated and do not migrate. An interview with a muge fisherman in the Aceh Regency hinterland, who originated from Delima subdistrict seems to fortify this conclusion. When he was farming in the village his maximum output was 1½ tons of padi. The price of a ton of padi today is approximately eighty thousand rupiahs. Working as a muge fisherman he earns at least fifty thousand rupiahs a month. The toil and exertion that is expended in the work of a muge is lighter compared to farming.

Moving away from the economic background and the outlook as described above, it is interesting to note the respondent's opinion concerning the income of their family. Is the present level of income sufficient to support the family? What do they do when the total income is insufficient? Or, if there is extra income, what form of savings

do they use? An understanding of these different issues is important, and seems to conform with the opinion of anthropologists who say that meaning (understanding) represents the basic element in the behaviour of man. When the meaning of any situation by the person who performs it is not taken into consideration, we will probably not understand such behaviour (Schlegel, 1977: p 3).

The difference in the level of income of each respondent group as shown in Tables 1-6 apparently gives a picture that is not much different from the actual situation of sufficiency. The percentage of frequency for those who feel that the income is insufficient is lower in the migrating group compared to the other two groups. Although the standard of living in one's village of origin could be assumed to be relatively lower compared to migration, still the total income they receive is insufficient to meet the cost of living.

To overcome these various insufficiencies, they share a common opinion, which is making an effort to live simply. It is impossible to determine whether this outlook is influenced by the president's latest recommendation to lead simple lives. Another opinion which is conspicuous among those who migrate is that they will sell what they have (dissaving), should they be faced with any difficulties in consumption. There is a very low percentage of frequency in the tendency to borrow from neighbours/friends, or to ask aid from the parents, especially among those who migrate. This differs with the attitude shown by a number of respondents originating from four residential districts outside of Pidie Regency in a study that was conducted (Rosalina Ridwan, Adnan Abdullah and Bahrein T Sugiha, 1977: p 64). According to that study, 68% of the 250 respondents tended to ask neighbours or relatives for aid when they were in financial difficulties.

However, when the income exceeded the total that was needed for the family, there was a high percentage of frequency to save in the form of ornamentation. This tendency is seen in all three groups of respondents. There was a very small percentage of frequency to buy land, save with Tabanas (Tabungan Pembangunan Nasional - National

Development Bank) or to keep cash. This negative tendency towards keeping cash or savings is due among other things, to their lack of confidence in the stability of value of the rupiah because of the very steep inflation that occurred in the mid-60's. The tendency not to buy land can be understood when seen from the wealth formation process of the rural community in Pidie. Where there is any profit left that is not consumed they normally keep the cash until they have enough to buy jewellery or gold. This jewellery that they collect little by little will be resold when someone needs to sell or pawn land/ricefields to them.

Table 3-1: Duration of education of respondent during migration,
based on migratory status (in percentage)

Duration of education	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
None	56.64	72.95	100.00	83.65
1-3 years	2.65	18.82	0.00	6.02
4-6 years	12.39	5.29	0.00	3.96
7-9 years	15.04	2.94	0.00	3.79
10-12 years	13.28	0.00	0.00	2.58
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	3.34	1.43	0.00	1.08
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 3-2: When the respondent terminates her education, based
on migratory status (in percentage)

Age	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Did not school	0.00	2.35	12.08	6.88
1-12 years	23.01	10.00	30.20	22.89
13-15 years	37.17	54.71	43.96	45.78
16-18 years	29.20	24.70	12.08	19.10
19-23 years	10.62	8.24	1.68	5.35
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	14.58	14.54	11.43	12.95
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 3-3: Courses/Training that respondents have undergone to acquire skills, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Type of skill	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Cooking skills	21.24	4.71	0.67	5.85
Tailoring	30.09	16.47	10.07	15.83
None	48.67	78.82	89.26	78.32
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 3-4: Highest type of education attained by the respondent's husband, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Type of education	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Elementary education	30.09	51.18	64.43	53.87
Junior secondary school education	12.39	18.82	12.08	14.11
Senior secondary school education	17.70	12.94	11.41	13.08
Tertiary education	34.51	4.71	1.34	8.78
Advanced religious study	3.54	0.00	0.00	0.69
None/divorced	1.77	12.35	10.74	9.47
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 3-5: Place/region where respondent's husband went to school, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Place/region	Migratory status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
District of origin	42.48	61.77	72.49	63.51
In another regency	39.82	18.82	7.38	17.04
Medan	5.31	3.53	0.67	2.41
Java	10.62	1.18	0.67	2.75
Did not school/divorced	1.77	14.70	18.79	14.29
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 3-6: Opinion of the respondent on the husband's present occupation, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Opinion	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Very satisfying	5.31	3.53	4.03	4.13
Satisfying	55.75	36.47	28.19	35.97
Not satisfying enough	38.94	57.65	67.11	58.86
No opinion	0.00	2.35	0.67	1.04
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 3-7: Other types of occupation that are more satisfying compared to the present occupation, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Type of occupation	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Skilled worker	0.00	1.18	2.68	1.72
Employee	5.31	4.71	3.36	4.13
Trader	17.70	15.88	37.58	27.37
Satisfied with the present occupation	61.06	40.00	32.21	40.10
Do not know	15.93	38.23	24.16	26.68
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 3-8: Period of employment of respondent's husband, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Period of employment	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
0-4 years	21.24	26.47	25.50	24.96
5-9 years	15.04	20.00	17.45	17.73
10-14 years	18.58	20.59	21.14	20.48
15-19 years	14.16	6.47	10.40	9.98
20-24 years	15.05	10.00	12.76	12.39
25-29 years	10.62	2.94	3.35	4.65
Unemployed/divorced	5.31	13.53	9.40	9.81
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	12.29	8.49	9.75	9.88
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 3-9: Occupation of Respondent's husband before migration
based on migratory status (in percentage)

Occupation	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Farmer	17.70	14.12	15.44	15.49
Trader	3.54	7.06	2.01	3.79
Employee	5.31	4.71	0.00	2.58
Did not migrate	0.00	2.35	44.29	23.41
Not yet employed/ divorced	73.45	71.76	38.26	54.73
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 3-10: Opinion of respondent on occupation of the husband
before migration, based on the migratory status
(in percentage)

Opinion	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
More satisfying	10.62	0.00	2.68	3.44
The same	12.39	0.00	14.77	9.98
Less satisfying	51.33	0.00	12.08	16.18
No longer migrate/ do not migrate/divorced	1.77	100.00	52.35	56.46
Not yet working	23.89	0.00	18.12	22.73
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 3-11: Main occupation of respondent's husband during migration, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Occupation	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Farmer	1.77	5.29	0.00	1.89
Trader	42.48	45.29	27.52	35.63
Employee (private firm)	6.19	7.07	7.38	12.22
Government employee	32.75	9.41	1.34	4.65
Skilled labourer	5.31	8.24	2.68	5.68
Labourer	9.73	9.41	16.78	12.39
Do not migrate/not yet employed/divorced	1.77	15.29	44.30	27.54
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

Table 3-12: Opinion of the respondent concerning the occupation,
during migration, of her husband - based on
migratory status (in percentage)

Opinion	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
More satisfying	0.00	28.82	14.77	16.01
No difference	0.00	24.13	21.48	18.06
Less satisfying	0.00	9.41	2.01	3.79
Do not migrate/still migrating/divorced	0.00	37.64	61.74	62.14
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 3-13: Situation of family income of the respondent in fulfilling the needs of the family, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Income situation	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
More than sufficient	5.31	5.29	3.36	4.30
Sufficient	48.67	37.06	32.89	37.18
Insufficient	46.02	57.65	62.41	57.83
No response	0.00	0.00	1.34	0.69
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

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Table 3-14: How respondents overcome difficulties in meeting household expenditure, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Form of overcoming financial difficulties	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Try to live simply	54.87	47.06	50.34	50.26
Sell belongings	35.40	2.35	4.03	9.64
Borrow from the neighbours	1.77	0.00	1.34	1.03
Ask for aid from the parents	3.54	8.24	8.05	7.23
Sufficient income	4.42	42.35	36.24	31.84
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
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Table 3-15: Form of savings that the respondent uses when there is extra income, based on migratory status (in percentage)

Form of savings	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
Purchase of jewellery	75.32	90.00	79.87	81.93
Purchase of land	14.16	4.70	1.34	4.82
Save/Tabanas	7.08	1.18	1.34	2.41
Keep cash	1.77	0.00	1.34	1.03
No extra income	1.77	4.12	16.11	9.81
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581

CHAPTER IV

MIGRATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND FERTILITY

A. Opinion regarding the total number of children

There seems to be uniformity in the opinion of several research writers who believe that the pattern of outlook and behaviour of the Aceh people is coloured by elements that stem from the teachings of Islam (Siegel, 1969: p 69; Alfian, 1977: p 204). This influence is seen, among other things, in the pattern of outlook concerning marriage. Islam preaches a marriage for the sake of procreation. This can be translated from Prophet Muhammad's quotation: Tanaakahu, tanaasalu, taksuru, fainni muhabin bikumul-umma yaumal qiyamah. It means - prepare yourself for marriage so you will have more descendants and I will feel happy when there are many of your followers on Doomsday. In another saying he is quoted thus: Whoever is able (to afford the cost of marriage) to marry, but does not wish to do so yet, does not belong in my circle (Alghazali, 1964: p 302).

Proposals such as those above are also found in various suggestions of the nek peunganjo (the wise old lady) a wise woman who accompanies a couple on their wedding night. The proposals of the nek peunganjo is always expressed in verse as follows:

Allahumma salli 'ala sayyidina Muhammad
Beujeu-ch laknat, bak jarak bahya
Bak seulammat, bak sijahtra
Bak meutuah, bak mubahgia
Bak meuaneuk, bak meucuco
Miseue rabo dalam paya
Hak meunneuk sithon-thon lhee
Bak mumeulintee sithon-thon dua
Bak meuaneuk jareueng-jareueng
A teulinteung adoe ka na
Bak meuaneuk, bak meurungkhe
Miseue pade dalam paya
Bak meuaneuk, bak meuceudieng
Na mise trieng nyang le mata

The verse above more or less means: Oh lord, bestow blessings on your loved one Muhammad. Cast away misfortune and danger. May he be safe and prosperous. May he be blessed, be happy. May there be children, grandchildren. Like bamboo growing in the swamp. May there be three newborn babies each year. May there be two children-in-law each year. May the births be sparse. May a new baby be conceived while the previous one still lays on his back. May there be births, be clusters like the padi growing in the swamps. May there be births, be buds like the bamboo with many branches.

A deeper understanding of the nek peunganjo's recital shows a tendency to identify safety, prosperity, harmony and happiness as a whole, with that of many children. That is not all, the nek peunganjo also proposes that the couple be able to create an extended family which is prosperous and lives in harmony. A happy family does not consist of a husband, wife and their children alone but includes their grandchildren as well. All these are seen in the proverbial form: rattan, padi and even bamboo. It is common knowledge that these three types of plants flourish wildly.

What is more interesting is an understanding of the 9th and 10th verse. Literally, the 9th verse seems to propose that there be few births. However, when seen together with the 10th verse it proposes the exact opposite. In the Aceh community there are eight accepted phases to a baby's development: linteueng (laying on the back); balek (turning); duek (sitting); 'euy (crawling); beudoh duek (learning to stand); tateh (learning to walk); jak (walking) and plueng (running). Hence, linteung represents the first phase of development and the first few months following the baby's birth - it normally lasts three months. This means that the nek peunganjo suggests that the mother be able to conceive the next pregnancy when the baby is three months old.

In this case it appears that the couple fully realise that the proposal of the nek peunganjo is not to increase their level of births but to create a healthy, harmonious and happy family. Where they can afford an extended family, developing a nuclear family will not be complex. In fact, the families in Aceh prefer to understand the 9th and 10th verses as I have just mentioned. This is easily proven by the

description they give to women with many children, one of which is: Leupah daih ro minyeuk, leupah ceudaih le aneuk (like a lampwick that is too long, having many children is too beautiful). Another saying goes: demeuaneuk lagee areunab (procreate like rabbits).

B. Characteristics of marriage of the respondents

From what we already know, there seems to be a difference in the average age of the respondents at their first marriage based on their migratory status. This also applies to the average age of husbands. When married for the first time, the average age of the migrating husband is 25.76 years. The husbands of those who migrated or do not migrate were 24.76 years and 24.63 years respectively. As a whole, the average age is 24.90 years. The difference in the average age of the couples in each group is - 7.13 years for those who migrate, 6.88 years for those who have migrated before and 7.02 years for those who do not migrate. This gives an average difference of 7.01 years for all respondents.

This difference in age between respondents when they marry for the first time is interesting from the point of view of the difference in the total number of children that they have borne. For this reason, the age at their first marriage is differentiated into four class intervals i.e. 15-17 years, 18-20 years, 21-23 years and 24-26 years. The total average of children who were born alive by the respondents in these four groups is: 3.88 children (15-17 years), 3.06 children (18-20 years), 1.49 children (21-23 years) and 2.37 children (24-26 years).

The average period of marriage by all the respondents is 12.05 years - 11.00 years for those who migrate- 13.89 years for those who have migrated before and 11.39 years for those who do not migrate. During the marriage there is a proportion of respondents who were separated/divorced. This made up 10.62% of those who migrate; 13.53% of those who had migrated before and 14.09% of those who do not migrate. The main reason for separation was the death of the husband, while for others it was due to incompatibility in the household. Divorce due to polygamy is only found in those who migrate, i.e. 4.71%. Among those

who are divorced, there are some who live alone while there are others who remarry a second or even a third time. The tendency to live alone is apparent among those who have migrated before and those who do not migrate (cf. Table 1-1).

Although the situation is such, it is interesting to know if there is any difference in the number of children that were born alive by each respondent, based on the difference in their period of marriage. In this case, the duration of marriage is divided into four class intervals - less than 5 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years, 15-19 years, 20-24 years and 25-29 years. The average number of children that were born alive by the respondents according to the different class intervals is - 0.98 (less than 5 years of marriage), 2.16 children (5-9 years), 4.00 children (10-14 years), 4.80 (15-19 years), 4.61 (20-24 years) and 6.42 (25-29 years).

Based on sex, the average number of children born during that period is - 1.61 males and 1.42 females (those who migrate), 1.89 males and 2.64 females (those who have migrated before) and 1.97 males and 1.58 females (those who do not migrate). The majority of respondents give birth to the first child within the second year of marriage. However, the birth of the first child among those who migrate, have migrated before or who do not migrate is at 1.83 years, 1.57 years and 1.78 years of marriage respectively. Each of the respondent groups, since the past - 2.68 years (those who migrate), 3.19 years (those who have migrated before) and 2.69 years (those who do not migrate) - did not have any new births. The majority of them feel that the best interval between one birth and the next is 3-4 years.

The respondents who migrate, the majority of them, have discussed with their husbands the interval between births which they consider is best. This is something rarely found in the other two respondent groups. However, the percentage of frequency in the use of contraceptive devices in planning the said interval between births is 23.1% (those who migrate), 16.47% (those who have migrated before), 6.71% (those who do not migrate). The devices or methods they use for birth control is the family planning pill or traditional methods of medication. The traditional medication is

generally the insertion of a mixture they refer to as "pill hitam" (black pill) in the body (uterus). The reason they give for the use of the abovementioned method is that it is cheaper and easier. Most of them use this method after the second birth. In the opinion of the majority of them it is best that a woman not have any more children after the marriage is 20-25 years old or after the woman is 35 years and above. This statement originated from 88.28% of the respondents.

An interesting case was found among the respondents of Simpang Tiga in relation to birth control. A woman who was a new mother, desired to have another baby soon. The husband, however, was a village leader and did not wish to have another child yet, especially not so soon. For this reason he drank on jaloh (a medicinal herb) which, according to most of the local inhabitants is able to weaken the sperm and prevent the formation of egg cells.

Another obvious difference is seen in the sex of the child desired. In general they hope for the birth of a son compared to the birth of a daughter. This is seen in the average birth total they wish for each sex. Those who migrate wish to give birth to 2.21 sons and 1.83 daughters. Those who have migrated before wish to have 2.78 boys and 2.00 girls. The average number desired by those who do not migrate is 2.79 sons and 2.09 daughters. Thus the average birth total desired by the respondents as a whole is 2.67 sons and 2.02 daughters. This average birth total also shows the number of children desired by the different respondent groups - 4.04 children for those who migrate, 4.78 children by those who have migrated before and 4.88 children by those who do not migrate. The reason why they want so many children is because they feel that it is still possible to take care of them.

The desire to have sons is due mainly to tradition where in the past it was hoped that the sons would help the family in the future. This reason is mainly given by those who migrate and by those who do not migrate. Another reason is that they want them to be capable. The rest, 22.72% did not give any definite reason. However, apart from the reasons given there is still another that they seem reluctant

to disclose. This is the position of the male child in the family, especially, as mentioned earlier, where the division of inheritance is concerned.

The desire for daughters is primarily for assistance during old age. This reason is found primarily among those who have migrated. Those who do not migrate wish to have daughters so they will help in the household activities. There are a number of respondents, especially those that migrate, who are unable to give any specific reason.

The next question asked concerned the age at which a girl should preferably marry. The majority of respondents feel that it should be between 18-20 years. This is the general opinion of all the respondents but there are still some people among those who do not migrate who feel 15-17 years is the best age. The main reason given is that at that age a girl is mature enough for marriage. However, if they should wish to continue with their education and as far as they can afford to, they will not be forced into marriage.

C. Variation in birth total

As has been mentioned earlier, the concept of fertility in this study is limited to the total number of children born to the couple during the period that the wife is able to bear children. The births that are used in the calculation are that of all the children who were born alive. Yet, the total number of births frequently shows a variation according to the decision of each individual concerning the number of children they desire. The decision of each individual is itself related to other factors - social, economic, cultural and the religion they practise. For this reason, the level of fertility often differs for example between the level of fertility of the advanced societies and that of a developing society. Or, between the level of fertility of an urban and a rural society, where the urban community, the economic importance of the child is generally minimal compared to that in the rural areas. The standard of education and employment opportunities outside the realm of the household is generally better for urban women as compared to what can be expected by the women who live in the rural areas.

In relation to the abovementioned subject, according to the psycho-social theory of population problems, there is a negative correlation between the ability of man to reproduce in number and his level of civilization. This is due to social and psychological factors. According to Arsene Deumont, one such writer, with a raise in the level of civilization, social capillarity also increases. With a rising standard of civilization, the desire to live luxuriously also increases. The desire to achieve and maintain this high level of comfort also causes people to make an effort in controlling the size of the family. By contrast, in societies where the standard of civilization is still low and where life is still strongly based on family ties, the social capillarity is not strong enough for development. (Kaslan A. Tohir, 1955: p 369).

This matter seems to conform with the psychological theory of population which is based on the assumption that there is a sort of antagonism in nature between the nation's standard of civilization and man's natural ability to develop. The higher the level of civilization the more energy is being used such that the ability to multiply becomes reduced. Based on proof found in animal and vegetable life, Doubleday is certain that when life becomes difficult, the strength to overcome the difficulties becomes even stronger. One way of overcoming such difficulties is the growth of the ability to multiply. Under reverse conditions, that is, during a comfortable period of life, the ability to flourish and multiply becomes increasingly reduced (Kaslan A. Tohir, 1955: p 368).

Several studies have been conducted to observe the connection between background of living and level of fertility. Life with an industrial background, for example, will lessen the agrarian social structure of the community and weaken their normative system. This matter could give rise to changes in fertility because the level of fertility of a community is closely knitted to the social structure, level of technology and taboos. These three issues will also experience changes due to industrialization (Petersen, n.d. : p 194). However, other opinions state that where there is urbanization which is not accompanied by progress in outlook and education, it will be extremely difficult to lower the level of fertility. On the contrary,

education and a standard of living that is increasingly rising cannot always be related to a low level of fertility (Hawthorn, 1970: p 106).

A study conducted in Mojolama, Central Java (Masri Singarimbun and Chris Manning, 1974: p v-vi) gives an interesting conclusion concerning the fertility trend. According to the research, the families that are better off (those who own larger land, work as pamong^{*}, employees or farmers and have a high economic status index) bore more children than the poorer families. The number of children that were born by the women and men who spent more time on the school bench was not much lower compared to the total number born by those without education, although the average total number of children born by women who had entered secondary school is lower.

An interesting question to ask in this study is whether there is a difference in fertility among the people of Pidie in relation to their tendency to migrate which causes various changes in the socio-economic status. To obtain answers that are more convincing, a statistical test based on the t-score (t) concept of calculation is used to test the truth of the nil hypothesis. The hypothesis states that migration may result in a change in socio-economic status but does not result in a meaningful difference in fertility. The assumption used to test the nil hypothesis above is that the socio-economic status of those who migrate is higher compared to those who have experienced migration. Similarly, the socio-economic status of those who have migrated before is higher compared to those who do not migrate. This assumption is strengthened among other things, by the average figures of the socio-economic status of each respondent group as we already know.

Based on the migratory status, we can see the central trend of the birth total of each respondent group in Tables 1-9. The tables show that the average total of children born alive by the group that migrates is 2.87 children; 3.62 children for those who have migrated

* pamong = administrator; guardian; tutor.

before and 3.40 children for those who do not migrate. Although the average birth total of these three different groups seems to differ, a meaningful difference at the 5% level of significance is only found between those who migrate and those who have migrated before ($p < 0.01$) and between those who migrate and those who do not migrate ($p < 0.05$). Thus, the average birth total between those who migrated before and those who do not migrate did not show any significant difference ($p < 0.40$).

There is a significant difference in the average figures between those who migrate and those who have migrated before, as mentioned above, and it is important to investigate this further to know the extent of the role played by the difference in socio-economic status. For this reason we will list the variations in birth total based on the socio-economic status of each group. Firstly, based on the period of education they underwent - those who attended school until the third year of elementary school (0-3 years) have born an average of 3.21 children. Those who school until the sixth year of elementary school (4-6 years) have 3.62 children on the average. Those who have junior secondary school education (7-9 years) have an average of 3.26 children. Those who have senior secondary school education and above (10 years and above) have an average of 2.05 children. Hence, those who have 4-6 years of education have a higher average of births compared to the other groups. This fact applies to those who migrate and to those who do not migrate. The highest birth average among those who migrate is found in the group with 0-3 years and 7-9 years of education. However, a significant difference is found only in the group with 4-6 years of education and that with more than 7 years of education ($p < 0.01$). The difference in the average figure between those with 0-3 years and 4-6 years of education is $p < 0.20$, and between those with 0-3 years and those with more than 7 years of education is $p < 0.40$ - both of which do not show a meaningful difference at the 5% level of significance.

Based on livelihood, those whose husbands work as farmers, labourers, or who are unemployed, have on the average, given birth to 3.0 children who were born alive. Those whose husbands work as civil servants or as employees in private firms have, on the average,

given birth to 3.20 children. Those whose husbands work as traders or skilled labourers, have on the average given birth to 3.76 children. This last group shows a higher average birth total compared to the other two groups. This fact seems especially conspicuous among those who do not migrate and among those who migrate, whereas among those who have migrated before, the highest average figure for births is seen in the women whose husbands work as civil servants and employees in private firms. However, a meaningful difference on the 5% level of significance based on the t-test is only found in the difference in the average birth figures between the farmer, labourer, unemployed group and the trader, skilled labourer group ($p < 0.01$), between trader, skilled labourer group and the civil servant, private employee group ($p < 0.05$). By contrast, the difference in the average birth total between the farmer, labourer, unemployed group and civil servant, private employee group is insignificant ($p < 0.50$).

Finally, is there any difference in the average birth total based on level of family income? Tables 4-5 show that the average of 2.89 children are born to those whose income is up to Rp.240,000/-; 3.34 children to those who earn Rp.240,000/- to Rp. 479,999; and 3.37 children to those who earn above Rp.480,000/-. This means that the highest average birth total is found in the group whose income exceeds Rp.480,000/-. However, when migrant status is taken into consideration, this fact applies only to the groups that do not migrate. The average birth total of those who migrate seems highest among those who earn below Rp.240,000/-. Among those who have experienced migration, the average birth total is highest for those who earn between Rp.240,000 and Rp.479,999.00. A significant difference based on the t-test is only found between the average birth total of those who earn below Rp.240,000 and those who earn above Rp.400,000 ($p < 0.05$); and those who earn Rp.240.000 - Rp.479,999.00 and those who earn above Rp.480,000 ($p < 0.001$).

From the various statistical tests mentioned above, a conclusion can be drawn based on this study, that a relatively significant difference is found between migratory status and fertility. However, it is difficult to discern the form of relationship - whether positive

or negative - between the variables mentioned based on the changes in socio-economic status. The average birth total varies greatly; it is not only based on socio-economic status but also on the migratory status. In general, it is seen that those whose husbands work as traders and who have a high income, have a higher average birth total. However, it only applies to those who do not migrate. Whereas for those who migrate, the civil servants and private employees show a higher birth average. Similarly, where the period of education is concerned, the average birth total for those who migrate and those who do not migrate is highest among those with 4-6 years of education. The opposite is true for those who have migrated.

Table 4-1: Number of children that were born alive, based on respondent's age at marriage (in percentage)

Number of Children	Age at Marriage				Total
	15-17	18-20	21-24	24-26	
11-12 children	1.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.69
9-10 children	3.52	1.23	0.00	0.00	2.24
7-8 children	15.85	6.53	0.00	0.00	10.50
5-6 children	19.01	15.10	0.00	11.54	16.18
3-4 children	22.89	31.02	26.92	30.77	26.85
1-2 children	25.00	37.55	38.46	45.15	31.84
None	12.32	8.57	34.62	11.54	11.70
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	3.88	3.06	1.49	2.37	3.36
Total (Respondents)	284	245	26	26	581

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Table 4-2: Number of children that were born alive, based
on the period of marriage of the respondent
(in percentage)

Number of children	Duration of Marriage						Total
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	
11-12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.86	5.27	0.69
9-10	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.97	8.56	7.89	2.24
7-8	0.00	0.00	9.60	19.80	18.57	42.11	10.50
5-6	0.00	1.50	30.40	35.64	14.29	21.05	16.18
3-4	4.38	42.10	40.00	19.80	24.29	21.05	26.85
1-2	57.02	42.11	16.00	20.79	31.43	2.63	31.84
None	38.60	14.29	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.70
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Mean	0.98	2.16	4.00	4.80	4.61	6.42	3.36
Number of Respondents	114	133	125	101	70	38	581

Table 4-3: Total average of children who were born alive by the respondents based on migratory status and period of education (n: in percentage)

Duration of education	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-migrant	
	2.60	4.00	3.13	3.21
0-3 years	(n=10.62)	(n=10.00)	(n=30.20)	(n=20.48)
	3.62	3.52	3.68	3.62
4-6 years	(n=34.51)	(n=64.12)	(n=59.40)	(n=55.94)
	2.38	3.74	2.56	2.88
10 years and above	(n=29.20)	(n=18.24)	(n=10.40)	(n=16.35)
Number of Res- pondents	113	170	298	581
Average	2.87	3.62	3.40	3.36

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Table 4-4: Total average of children who were born alive by respondents based on migratory status and source of livelihood (n: in percentage)

Source of livelihood	Migratory status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non migrant	
Farmer	2.80	3.68	2.75	3.00
Labourer				
Unemployed	(n=15.04)	(n=35.30)	(n=49.99)	(n=38.90)
Trader	3.08	3.42	4.33	3.76
Skilled labourer	(n=47.79)	(n=50.59)	(n=38.25)	(n=43.72)
Civil servant	2.63	4.27	3.13	3.20
Private employee	(n=37.16)	(n=14.12)	(n=11.74)	(n= 17.38)
Respondents	113	170	298	581
Average	2.87	3.62	3.40	3.36

Table 4-5: Average number of live births experienced by the respondents, based on migratory status and level of income (n: in percentage)

Level of Income	Migratory Status			Total
	Migrant	Ex-migrant	Non-Migrant	
Below Rp240.000	3.60	3.59	2.52	2.89
	(n=12.27)	(n=33.53)	(n=48.32)	(n=37.
Rp 240.000-479.999	1.79	3.65	3.52	3.34
	(n=27.43)	(n=40.00)	(n=27.85)	(n=31.
Rp 480.000 and above	3.19	3.62	4.49	3.77
	(n=59.29)	(n=26.47)	(n=23.83)	(n=31.
Total (Respondents)	113	170	298	581
Average	2.87	3.62	3.40	3.36

CHAPTER V

C O N C L U S I O N

Migration of the people of Pidie can be understood from two angles to their back ground. First, migration to them represents the subsequent phase to a family life that was not closely-knit. This began during adolescence when the boys began to live separately from their parents. The respect and courtesy in the family is developed by limiting as little as possible the jovial and intimate relationship between family members. In the household, the women seem to have a more active role compared to the men. The men generally spend more time away from the home. They are either busy at work or relaxing at the coffee shops with their friends. They return to the home when there is something that needs to be done there.

Second, migration represents the means to avoid incompatibility with the demands or the pattern of outlook of the community. This incompatibility is, among other things, seen in the high esteem placed on the extended family. Another reason is that farming is not given high esteem, whereas employment in the other fields is greatly limited. Yet another reason stems from the obligation to assist relatives who are poor, but often the wife disagrees. By migrating, the various problems can be solved, or at least lessened. Migration enables them to create a nuclear family unit. In certain areas life as a farmer is valued and employment opportunities are more uniform, with a relatively better possibility of obtaining a high income. When they have a better life, they can if they wish, more easily fulfil the obligation to assist the relatives.

Migration generally developed following various forms of progress that occurred in Aceh, especially since the reign of power installed by the Hindu-Dutch government in the region. Since that period communication to areas of migration was more open and the fields of employment and educational opportunities increased in variety. Their migration was no longer limited to the remote undeveloped areas but also saw them going to populated towns. Those who migrated were no

longer the poor inhabitants of the village but also included the rich people and the sons of the aristocracy. Migration was no longer aimed at farming - it grew with the desire to do business and the desire for education. Since that moment, migration increased and appeared more attractive. In the past the tendency to migrate was generally limited to the male community. The close relationship of the wife with her relatives in the household provided ample opportunities for such migration. However, during the past two decades the tendency to migrate with the family became more discernible.

The most important benefits, and one which is felt immediately by the majority, is the increase in knowledge and the broadening social association. They also feel that work is more satisfying during migration, especially from the point of view of income received. Among them there are those who become businessmen or intellectuals. In the past, especially during the first few years of independence, the role of these two groups became obvious in Acheh. There was good cooperation between them and each grew steadily in their respective positions. The success and steadfastness of their position however, has since the last decade, become the source of competition in the pattern of social interaction between them and the local community.

The success that they achieve in migration, in its limited way, seems to cause several changes in their attitude and behaviour that leads to a new way of life for them. This is seen, among other things, in the trend to have children. Those who migrate and those who have experienced migration generally desire a lower number of children compared to those who do not migrate. The birth total of the migrating group is also low when compared to the other two groups and, based on statistical tests, the birth figures differ significantly.

A proportion of those who migrate tend to discuss the birth problem with their husbands, something which is rare among those who do not migrate. Modern methods of contraception are practised more by the group that migrates. Those who do not migrate tend to use traditional forms or methods of contraception. In general , they

prefer a contraceptive device that is cheaper and easier to use. The use of contraception for the migrating group generally commences after the birth of the first child. The trend to limit births is found not only in the wives but also in the husbands.

In general, they are dissatisfied with the type and level of education that they have achieved. Those who migrate make an effort to gain skill through practice or by undergoing certain courses. What attracts them more are the courses on cooking and tailoring. What they learn from these courses is actually very useful to the family itself. The incentive to study is also obvious in the husbands of those who migrate, some of whom still continue with their education. Hence it is only natural that their average level of education is higher.

In facing challenges, more so when they are not in a position to overcome them, they will make an effort to limit outside help. When they do not succeed in achieving a satisfying socio-economic status, a proportion of them tend to return to the village. When facing financial problems, they tend to live simply or to sell what they own. There is little tendency to ask help from others or to overcome such problems by working harder. This is true of those who migrate and those who do not migrate. Similarly, when there is extra income they tend to save in the form of gold or jewellery (ornaments). Such savings are more of a guarantee against inflation. If this conclusion is true it would actually not be difficult to understand why the birth total of those who migrate is relatively low. Part of the answer can be found in the background of their attitude towards facing challenges.

What has been stated above will be clarified by the results of the statistical test which follows regarding the relationship between socio-economic status and fertility. The aforesaid conclusion stated that migration will enable one to achieve a better socio-economic status. As mentioned before, the birth total of those who migrate is lower. This also means that those with high socio-economic status have a relatively lower level of births. It appears that this

conclusion is based on their fertility at each rung of the socio-economic status scale, except that based on level of education. There is a high birth rate among those who work as traders. Similarly, those with a high income have a high birth rate. However, those with higher education have a lower birth rate. The difference is significant at the 5% level of significance.

However, when probed further, the analysis is linked to the psychological theory of population and it can be easily understood why this situation seems contradictory. The reason can be found in the fact that difficulties or challenges are faced to a relatively higher degree by those who have migrated before and by those with a low level of education. Similarly, the possibility of facing risks is generally faced to a higher degree by those with a high income who work as traders. Hence the strength they need to overcome the difficulties becomes even greater.

If what we conclude is true it means that a change in attitudes and behaviour occurs relatively more easily in those with education than compared to the people who are wealthy or who are in business. However, to be able to reach such a conclusion, other factors have to be taken into consideration, factors that have an influence on fertility such as age at marriage, duration of marriage and health. If these factors do not show a change then we can only conclude that a new life-style is more easily adopted by those with higher education.

In the future, the fertility trend of the Pidie women will be greatly influenced by the various possibilities that their husbands might meet in migration. At present there seems to be an interesting competition in meeting a certain socio-economic status, both as an employee or as a trader. Whether they succeed in winning the competition or fail altogether remains a big question. Whether they will channel their attention into achieving a higher education also remains a question. Apart from that, the success of the Family Planning Program that has been created by the government and special bodies in being able to change the pattern of outlook concerning the number of children they want, will be yet another factor influencing their fertility.

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SEAPRAP

THE SOUTHEAST ASIA POPULATION RESEARCH AWARDS PROGRAM

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

- * To strengthen the research capabilities of young Southeast Asian social scientists, and to provide them with technical support and guidance if required.
- * To increase the quantity and quality of social science research on population problems in Southeast Asia.
- * To facilitate the flow of information about population research developed in the program as well as its implications for policy and planning among researchers in the region, and between researchers, government planners and policy makers.

ILLUSTRATIVE RESEARCH AREAS

The range of the research areas include a wide variety of research problems relating to population, but excludes reproductive biology. The following are some examples of research areas that could fall within the general focus of the Program:

- * Factors contributing to or related to fertility regulation and family planning programs; familial, psychological, social, political and economic effects of family planning and contraception.
- * Antecedents, processes, and consequences (demographic, cultural, social, psychological, political, economic) of population structure, distribution, growth and change.
- * Family structure, sexual behaviour and the relationship between child-bearing patterns and child development.
- * Inter-relationships between population variables and the process of social and economic development (housing, education, health, quality of the environment, etc).
- * Population policy, including the interaction of population variables and economic policies, policy implications of population distribution and movement with reference to both urban and rural settings, and the interaction of population variables and law.
- * Evaluation of on-going population education programs and/or development of knowledge-based population education program.

- * Incentive schemes — infrastructures, opportunities; overall economic and social development programs.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Selection will be made by a Program Committee of distinguished Southeast Asian scholars in the social sciences and population. The following factors will be considered in evaluating research proposals:

1. relevance of the proposed research to current issues of population in the particular countries of Southeast Asia;
2. its potential contribution to policy formation, program implementation, and problem solving;
3. adequacy of research design, including problem definition, method of procedure, proposed mode of analysis, and knowledge of literature;
4. feasibility of the project, including time requirement; budget; and availability, accessibility, and reliability of data;
5. Applicant's potential for further development.

DURATION AND AMOUNT OF AWARDS

Research awards will be made for a period of up to one year. In exceptional cases, requests for limited extension may be considered. The amount of an award will depend on location, type and size of the project, but the maximum should not exceed US\$7,500.

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

The Program is open to nationals of the following countries: Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Particular emphasis will be placed on attracting young social scientists in provincial areas.

Applications are invited from the following:

- * Graduate students in thesis programs
- * Faculty members
- * Staff members in appropriate governmental and other organizations.

Full-time commitment is preferable but applicants must at least be able to devote a substantial part of their time to the research project. Advisers may be provided, depending on the needs of applicants.